

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 L-03  
NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15  
TRSE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00  
HA-05 CU-04 COME-00 /087 W  
-----012443 240729Z /21

O R 240610Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5418

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USIA WASHDC

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1527

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJ: BELGRADE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 23

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SUMMARY: NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) FAILED TO REACH  
AGREEMENT ON COMMON TEXT OF A SHORT-FORM DRAFT CONCLUDING  
DOCUMENT. YUGOSLAV DEL HAS, HOWEVER, CIRCULATED  
INFORMALLY A FOUR-PAGE DRAFT WITHOUT CLAIMING OFFICIAL  
SPONSORSHIP. IT IS EFFORT TO RETAIN FAIR AMOUNT  
OF SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL, BUT NOT HUMAN RIGHTS OR

BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS. NATO CAUCUS INTENDS, THEREFORE, TO STICK TO ALLIED CONCEPT OF A NON-SUBSTANTIVE SHORT DOCUMENT. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR WILL MEET AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 24 TO DISCUSS SITUATION WITH SOVIET AND YUGOSLAV AMBASSADORS. MEANWHILE, SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TOUGHENING THEIR POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP, INSISTING THAT THEY CAN TAKE NO DIRECT REFERENCE WHATSOEVER TO BELGRADE YELLOW BOOK AS A GUIDE FOR PROCEDURES OF MADRID MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. THE EXPECTED NNA INITIATIVE ON A SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT NEVER CAME OUT OF THE STARTING GATE. NNA CAUCUS, WHICH HAS MANAGED SURPRISINGLY WELL THROUGHOUT BOTH PREPARATORY AND MAIN MEETING TO ACT TOGETHER DESPITE DISPARATE VIEWS OF ITS MEMBERS, FAILED IN TWO-DAY-LONG DRAFTING EFFORT TO PRODUCE COMMON TEXT. YUGOSLAVS PICKED UP BALL AND CIRCULATED A FOUR-PAGE DOCUMENT IN LATE AFTERNOON WHICH THEY CALLED A "NON-PAPER DRAFTED BY NO ONE" (TEXT SPTEL). IT REFLECTS IN FACT, HOWEVER, YUGOSLAV INTEREST IN OBTAINING A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT GIVES APPEARANCE OF SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL SUBSTANCE. IT INCLUDES SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS ON DETENTE AND IMPLEMENTATION ASSESSMENT, INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPHS ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, DISARMAMENT, THE MEDITERRANEAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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ECE WORK ON ENERGY, AND DISSEMINATION OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE BELGRADE DOCUMENT. IT ALSO INCLUDES, IN ADDITION TO THE TWO MEETINGS MANDATED BY THE FINAL ACT, SIMILAR EXPERTS MEETINGS FOR CBMS, THE MEDITERRANEAN AND INFORMATION QUESTIONS.

2. NATO CAUCUS REVIEWED DRAFT IMMEDIATELY AFTER PLENARY ADJOURNED THIS AFTERNOON WITHOUT SPEAKERS. CAUCUS CONCLUDED THAT ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO STICK WITH CONCEPT OF A NON-SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT SUCH AS THAT DEVELOPED BY CAUCUS ITSELF (BELGRADE 1478) SINCE YUGOSLAV EFFORT FAILED TO INCLUDE AREAS OF PRIMARY WESTERN INTEREST, HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS.

3. CAUCUS AUTHORIZED AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR TO MEET YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR AND SOVIET AMBASSADOR AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 24 TO DISCUSS SITUATION IN GENERAL TERMS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG ALSO INTENDS TO SEE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR PRIVATELY EARLIER IN DAY TO EXPLAIN PROBLEMS WE HAVE WITH YUGOSLAV EFFORT.

4. SOVIET AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV HAS INDICATED INTEREST

IN CONVENING SMALL GROUP OF AMBASSADORS TO WORK OUT

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O R 240610Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5419

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1527

SOLUTION TO IMPASSE. HE PRESUMABLY HAS IN MIND  
SOME SORT OF 2-2-2 MECHANISM THAT YUGOSLAVS  
BACKED OUT OF LAST WEEKEND. FEBRUARY 24 SESSIONS,  
HOWEVER, WOULD BE LESS FORMAL AND PROBABLY CENTERED AT  
LEAST INITIALLY ON EVALUATION OF YUGOSLAV EFFORT. COMMENTS  
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BY VORONTSOV AND HIS DEPUTY TO SEVERAL ALLIED AMBASSADORS SUGGEST THAT SOVIETS ALSO HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH PARTS OF YUGOSLAV TEXT, FOR EXAMPLE SECTION NOTING THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFICULTIES WITH DETENTE AND FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION. VORONTSOV'S IDEA OF NEGOTIATION ON YUGOSLAV TEXT, AS EXPLAINED TO BRITISH AMBASSADOR, WAS THAT SOVIETS AND WEST SHOULD EACH INDICATE WHAT PARAGRAPHS IN DRAFT WERE UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SHOULD CONSIST OF WHATEVER WAS LEFT.

5. DIFFICULTY THAT NNA HAD IN FINDING COMMON FORMULATION SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT NNA ARE NOT READY FOR SUCH AN APPROACH EVEN IF IT WOULD LEAD TO SHORT DOCUMENT NOT TOO UNLIKE THAT WHICH ALLIES HAVE DEVELOPED. SOME NNA, INCLUDING YUGOSLAVS AND MALTESE CLEARLY HAVE NOT GIVEN UP EFFORT TO OBTAIN SOMETHING IN AREAS OF THEIR SPECIAL INTEREST. ROMANIANS ARE SAYING AROUND CONFERENCE CENTER, BUT FINDING LITTLE RESPONSE, THAT MEETING SHOULD RECESS FOR SEVERAL WEEKS SO THAT DELEGATIONS COULD GET NEW INSTRUCTIONS.

6. PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANT INDICATION THAT ROAD TO A SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WILL NOT BE QUICK OR EASY, HOWEVER, IS APPARENT TOUGHENING OF SOVIET POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP. UNTIL LAST FEW DAYS SOVIETS HAD BEEN HINTING THAT WHILE THEY DID NOT WISH TO DESCRIBE BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING'S YELLOW BOOK AS SOLE BASIS, MUTATIS MUTANDIS, FOR MADRID MEETING, THEY COULD TAKE SOME SORT OF FORMULATION THAT REFERRED TO IT AS ONE OF KEY FACTORS THAT WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AT MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING. NOW SOVIETS ARE SAYING THAT THERE CAN BE NO REFERENCE TO YELLOW BOOK AT ALL AND THAT, IN EFFECT, MADRID MEETING MUST CONFIDENTIAL

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BE FULLY AT LIBERTY TO CHOOSE ITS OWN COURSE WITHOUT BEING BOUND BY BELGRADE PRECEDENTS.

7. SOVIET POSITION MAY, OF COURSE, BE ONLY TACTICAL. NONETHELESS, A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING SOME OF THOSE MOST DEDICATED TO CSCE PROCESS SUCH AS ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, ARE CONCERNED THAT SOVIETS SENSE THAT FEW DELEGATIONS ARE PREPARED TO BLOCK QUICK END TO THIS MEETING BECAUSE OF APPARENTLY PROCEDURAL POINT. THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS SEE AN OPPORTUNITY TO STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION FOR A FIGHT AT MADRID TO DENIGRATE REVIEW PROCESS. AT VERY LEAST,

FAILURE TO AGREE ON A FORMULA HERE THAT GIVES SIGNIFICANT  
WEIGHT TO YELLOW BOOK WOULD APPEAR TO MEAN THAT  
MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING WOULD HAVE TO GO OVER  
SAME GROUND THAT DELEGATIONS SPENT SEVEN WEEKS ON IN  
BELGRADE LAST SUMMER, FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER THERE  
CAN BE COMMITTEES THAT WOULD FACILITATE DETAILED  
CONSIDERATION OF IMPLEMENTATION RECORD. ALLIES  
INTEND, THEREFORE, TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A YELLOW  
BOOK FORMULA AT INFORMAL FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS MORNING  
OF FEBRUARY 24.

8. EXPECTATION IS THAT SOVIETS WILL PUSH HARD AT  
PLENARY IN AFTERNOON FOR ADOPTION OF A DATE BY WHICH  
TO CONCLUDE MEETING. EXCEPT IN UNLIKELY EVENT  
THAT ALL OF ABOVE ISSUES FALL INTO PLACE BEFORE PLENARY,  
ALLIES INTEND TO DENY CONSENSUS AND COUNTER WILL CALL FOR  
NEW WORK PROGRAM, EVEN IF ON DAY-TO-DAY BASIS.

GOLDBERG

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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